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UNIVERSITY COLLEGE (LONDON) MONOGRAPHS
ON ENGLISH MEDIÆVAL ART

Edited by

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III

THE INTERRELATION OF THE FINE ARTS IN ENGLAND IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES

UNIFORM WITH THIS VOLUME

ST. CHRISTOPHER IN ENGLISH MEDIÆVAL WALL-PAINTING. By H. C. WHAITE

ENGLISH MEDIÆVAL ENAMELS. By M. CHAMOT

THE INTERRELATION OF THE FINE ARTS IN ENGLAND IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES

By M. DICKENS WHINNEY

With
Twenty-four Illustrations
in Collotype

LONDON
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EDITOR'S PREFACE

In endeavouring to piece together a picture of the whole domain of English art during the early Middle Ages, the student is confronted with a task of exceptional fascination, but also of exceptional difficulty. For certain provinces of the subject—as for instance architecture, illuminated MSS. and sculptured stone crosses—material is present in abundance; but as regards other categories, the toll of destruction has been enormous. How thankful one must be that even one example of English metalwork of the twelfth century—"the best century," as an acute student of European art once called it—like the Gloucester candlestick should have come down to us; and what a great thing it is that there survives at any rate one sculptured porch such as the one at Malmesbury!

All the more important is it under the circumstances to survey the existing material as thoroughly as may be, and to keep an eager look-out for the possible hints as regards the quality of other classes of artistic production contained in the several objects of our study. Miss Dickens Whinney's treatise will be read with keen interest both on account of the variety of the material with which it deals and because of the illuminating deductions which she is able to draw from it.

Mr. H. C. Whaite has once again placed this series under an obligation by the delightful woodcut which he has contributed for the title page, and which has for its basis that figure of Christ in that noble example of East Anglian sculpture of the time about 1150, the Prior's doorway of Ely Cathedral (compare Plate 6, right-hand subject).

The publication of this volume has been made possible through the generous support extended to the undertaking by my friend Mr. W. Tudor Wilkinson, himself a collector of mediæval art of the most catholic outlook; and it is a pleasure here to tender him grateful acknowledgments.

TANCRED BORENIUS.

LONDON, *January* 1930.

IN MEMORIAM

T. B. W.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

This essay is, in the main, an attempt to give some indication of the richness and variety of early Mediæval art, and particularly of twelfth-century art, in England. In order to obtain a general view, a synthetic and not an analytic method must be adopted. This is peculiarly the case in a period like the twelfth century, from which the remains are fragmentary in the extreme. Documentary evidence concerning the activities of the monasteries is, however, sufficient to warrant an assumption that our few isolated examples must be considered as representative of a very large artistic output.

Such magnificent relics as the Gloucester Candlestick, the Winchester Bible, the ivory tau-heads in the British and Victoria and Albert Museums, the Kennet Ciborium, the sculpture at Malmesbury, and the wallpaintings at Canterbury could only have been produced by a people whose artistic life was of a very high standard; scarcely, if at all, lower than that of contemporary France or Germany. But these splendid works show a great variety of tradition and intention; and if, with them, are considered the very large number of lesser examples in which the artist has not so successfully realized his aim, it will quickly be granted that the most diverse influences must have been at work in twelfth-century England.

That movements in Continental art, both before and during the twelfth century, greatly affected the art of this country has long been admitted, and, of course, it is essential to recognize that early Mediæval art in England is a branch, and, as has been said, by no means a negligible branch, of the great parent stem of Romanesque art of Western Europe. But in addition to the foreign influences, a careful study of existing examples gives rise to a conviction that internal influences were also exceedingly strong and varied. It is extremely dangerous to dogmatize, for little is known with any certainty of the great centres of artistic activity, but it is highly illuminating to trace the influence of St. Albans in work which springs from places as far apart as Ely and Dorchester or Shaftesbury.

It is also possible, and a task of the greatest interest, to find in the

work, especially of lesser craftsmen, reflections of the art of their more skilled brethren, whose craft, however, was possibly only known to them in some medium other than that in which they were themselves working. The direct translation of the motives of one craft into another is one of the most curious phenomena of the period. It is evidences of this interrelation that this essay seeks primarily to investigate, and it does not, therefore, in any way, aim at giving a complete survey of the Fine Arts in England during the early Middle Ages.

I should like to express my gratitude to Mr. Arthur Gardner, for his great kindness in making it possible for me to reproduce the detail from Malmesbury porch (Plate 4) and the fragments from the jubé at Durham (Plate 6, left-hand subject), from his negatives; to Professor Tristram for permission to use his drawing of the painting in Kempley Church (Plate 5, lower subject); and to the Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral, who have allowed me to illustrate a page of the Winchester Bible. Acknowledgment must also be made to the Director of the British Museum for photographs used in Plates 1 and 9, right-hand subject, and to the Director of the Victoria and Albert Museum for Plates 2, 7, 8, 9, left-hand subject; 10, both subjects; and 15. With the exception of 9, right-hand subject, these are all reproduced from official negatives. Plates 5, top subject, 11, 12, and 13, both subjects, and 14, top subject, are from the fine series of photographs of West Country work taken by Mr. W. A. Call of the County Studio, Monmouth. Messrs. Frith of Reigate have supplied Plates 3 and 6, right-hand subject, and Messrs. Charlton of Canterbury Plates 14, lower subject, and 16.

Finally, and above all, my warmest thanks are due to Professor Tancred Borenius, at whose suggestion the work was undertaken, and to whose unfailing kindness and encouragement I am very deeply indebted.

M. D. W.

London, *October* 1929.

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THE INTERRELATION OF THE FINE ARTS IN ENGLAND IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES.

The art of the Early Middle Ages in Western Europe, and particularly that of the twelfth century, is, as is generally recognized, of the greatest importance, both from the high æsthetic value of its productions, and also for its peculiar position in the development of style.

Nowhere is the work of the period of more intense interest to the student than in England, for, as the result of geographical and political conditions, English twelfth-century art has a fascinating complexity and variety which is almost unequalled in Europe. In spite of her apparent isolation, England, during the Early Middle Ages, proved herself peculiarly vulnerable to foreign intrusion, and each successive influence left its mark on her art. The result of the early intellectual supremacy of the Celtic races may be traced in the abundance of delicate interlacing ornaments, and curious, decorative employment of animal and human forms. The same motives, immeasurably coarsened, were used by the Viking invaders, who also brought with them a vigorous brutality, both of subject and of technique. It is important to remember that the Normans, whose influence is sometimes wrongly classed as, in the main, French, were themselves of Viking stock, and had only settled in France in the early years of the tenth century. In addition to these external Northern influences there must have been a fairly continuous connection, through the importation of ivories and other small work, with the art of Eastern Europe, as Byzantine types constantly recur. The near racial alliance of the Anglo-Saxon with the German peoples would naturally lead to a quick response in England to new movements in German art, and English examples can be found which follow very closely the characteristic manuscript style of the Carlovingian epoch, or the types of the fine metalwork of the Othonian Renaissance. The growth of the Cluniac Order in the eleventh century and of the Cistercian in the twelfth (both strongly centralized bodies), led to a wide dissemi-

nation of Burgundian ideas.* In the twelfth century, also, a fresh link was forged with France by the acquisition, owing to royal marriages, of the greater part of Western France. The districts of Poitou and Aquitaine, with their highly important and original artistic styles, were therefore in very close communication with England. Further, these provinces lay on the direct road from England to the great centre of pilgrimage, Santiago di Compostella, and there can be no doubt that the constant passage of pilgrims, at this, as at many other times, was of great consequence in the spread of artistic ideas.

But amid all these foreign influences certain national characteristics may be traced: a great gift for dramatic expression coupled with a broad, humorous outlook which shows itself in a love of grotesque realism; and also, in manuscript painting, a considerable feeling for fine linear design.

All these different strains may clearly be seen in the art of the twelfth century. At first they are strongly marked, and may therefore be fairly easily distinguished, but as the century progresses, in art, as well as in political life, there is a welding together of foreign and indigenous motives and a growth of new, vigorous characteristics, which while parallel to the great stream of Gothic art, are, in the main, national and not Continental. It is necessary to realize these complex foreign influences in order to understand the amazing disparity between the various products of the twelfth century; but it is even more important to remember that the works which remain are exceedingly fragmentary, and that though, for want of more adequate evidence, we must base our deductions upon them, it is quite possible that some of these deductions would prove false if we could see the vast body of material of which we must, perforce, treat our isolated examples as representative.

* *Cf.* Westlake, *History of Design in Mural Painting*, pp. 154, 155. Canon Westlake, referring to the international character of Cluniac art, illustrates the very close parallel between a twelfth-century wallpainting at Clayton Church, Sussex, and sculpture, dating from 1106, at the Cluniac abbey of La Charité-sur-Loire. Both show Christ in Glory, and the surrounding ornaments, a key pattern round the arch with a scroll below, are exactly similar, and point to the conclusion that both representations were, primarily, directed from Cluny scriptorium.

The fragmentary nature of the remains is most apparent in wall-painting and in all branches of goldsmiths' work. The former suffered from the iconoclastic zeal, and the latter probably from the cupidity of the Reformers, while some examples of both may have been lost or defaced beyond recognition through sheer neglect or ignorant restoration.

The existing examples of early mediæval sculpture are rather more numerous, in spite of the efforts of the Reformers; but owing to the fact that they are largely exterior work, they have often deteriorated considerably from exposure, and much surface treatment, which would have been of great technical interest, has perished. It must also be remembered that figure sculpture on anything but a small, rude scale was hardly practised in England before the Norman Conquest. A technique, therefore, had to be evolved, and so vigorous was the artistic life of the nation that by 1200 it was able to produce the splendid monumental figures now in the York Museum.* This high level could not have been achieved without much previous experiment, and we fortunately possess sufficient examples of earlier work to be able to realize some of the stages through which the sculptor passed, and how, in particular, he deliberately borrowed not only motives, but also technique from his more skilful fellow-craftsmen, the illuminator and the goldsmith.

That the art of MS. painting and of various branches of goldsmith's work had achieved great distinction in the Anglo-Saxon period is proved by such magnificent productions as the Benedictional of St. Aethelwold and the Alfred Jewel. Illumination of an almost equally high order appeared in the twelfth century, and, as will be discussed later, there is reason to suppose that the metalworker's art was nearly as important.

It will be convenient to consider first the widespread influence of the MS. painter on the other arts. Even the most zealous Reformer seems to have venerated Holy Writ, and it is far easier to follow the art and consequently the influence of the illuminator in the twelfth century than that of those craftsmen, the remains of whose art is so fragmentary.

* Prior and Gardner, *Mediæval Figure Sculpture in England*, 1912, Figs. 193–197.

The most conspicuous centre of MS. painting both in Anglo-Saxon and in Norman times was Winchester. The earlier school, among the finest fruits of which are the Benedictional of St. Aethelwold, *c.* 980, now in the collection of the Duke of Devonshire, and the Grimbald Gospels in the British Museum (Plate 1), is characterized by a fine sensitive quality of line, and a certain monumental dignity of design. The draperies are treated with close parallel folds, with swirls on knee and shoulder and below the waist. The edges are broken up by the small crinkled folds, and there is a marked tendency to allow the ends to flutter wildly in the air.

The second Winchester school, which was at its height about 1160, has an entirely different character, especially as regards treatment of drapery. Figures had usually been elongated in the earlier period, but this quality now becomes much emphasized, though the inherited feeling for fine line prevents the extreme angularity which may be seen in French art. The drapery, instead of falling in many small folds, is now stretched tightly over the body in a series of ovals, which are outlined by narrow ridges almost like cords. A few long, graceful folds do appear, and the edges of the garments are often heavily patterned with a bead.

The most notable production of this second Winchester school is the great Winchester Vulgate, still preserved in the Cathedral Library (Plate 2). The miniatures in this are by several hands, the latest being not earlier than 1170, and having distinct affinity with the thirteenth-century paintings in the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre in Winchester Cathedral. The Psalter of Bishop Henry of Blois, now in the British Museum, which was probably written about 1160, shows perhaps the extreme of contortion of the school.

It is of great interest to find that the characteristics of both the Anglo-Saxon and the Anglo-Norman illuminators are reproduced very closely in twelfth-century sculpture. Both appear well into the second half of the century, and afford yet one more instance of the curious welter of styles which makes up twelfth-century English art.

The earlier style is perhaps best represented by the much damaged

figure of St. John, now in the cloister at Lincoln. This almost certainly flanked a " Majesty," and is dated by Messrs. Prior and Gardner somewhat tentatively as *c.* 1160.* The proportions and pose of the figure, and the soft, close folds of drapery over the feet, proclaim its affinity with Anglo-Saxon MS. paintings, and the beautiful sweep of line makes us the more regretful that the rest of the group has vanished.

But a much more interesting study is afforded by the great South Porch of Malmesbury Abbey (Plate 3). This, which also dates from about 1160, is, both æsthetically and iconographically, undoubtedly the most important example of Romanesque sculpture in England. The outer doorway has no less than seven rings of carving, some being ornamented with decorative patterns, while others have parallel scenes from the Old and New Testament in medallions (Plate 4). Within the porch, in the tympanum of the door to the church, is a Christ in Majesty supported by flying angels, and on each side wall is a row of seated Apostles with an angel above (Plate 5, top subject).

The influences here are distinctly complex. The iconographical scheme suggests a close connection with the Continent, and the figures themselves certainly owe much, both in pose and character, to such examples as the sculpture at Saint Sernin, Toulouse, and that at Santiago. But there is also affinity with English MS. painting. Both the seated Apostles and the Majesty group have a treatment of drapery which suggests painting rather than any plastic art. The close parallel folds are those of the early Winchester school, but fluttering loose ends are conspicuously absent, even in the garments of the angels, where such devices are frequently used to give an impression of movement. The pearled edges and corded folds of the later school do appear, but the latter do not surround stretched ovals as in the Winchester Vulgate. It cannot be said that these figures are exactly paralleled either in French sculpture or in English illumination. The medallions on the outside of the porch, however, are rather different in character, and are very much closer to the twelfth-century MS. school.† The arrangement of figures in medallions must be discussed later in its connection

* Prior and Gardner, *op. cit.*, Fig. 125. † Prior and Gardner, *op. cit.*, Fig. 166.

with the art of the metalworker, but it should be noted here as a further instance of the complexity of motive in this one piece of work. It may be added that Messrs. Prior and Gardner* see further evidence of the goldsmith's style in the angular grooving of the drapery, which was "natural to the tools of the metalworker rather than to the chisel of the carver."

The style of the Winchester MS. painters was by no means confined to one centre, for it appears in modified forms in products of such diverse points as St. Albans, Durham and York. At Durham the same impulse which resulted in the Bible of Bishop Pudsey, written between 1153–1195, must have produced the reliefs from the jubé, now in the Museum (Plate 6, left-hand subject). Curiously enough, these Northern reliefs show a closer resemblance to the work of the Winchester school than any sculpture in the country.

The Prior's Door at Ely, *c.* 1150, is a most valuable example of the translation of the painter's art into stone (Plate 6, right-hand subject). The tympanum shows a Christ in Majesty flanked by two angels supporting the mandorla. There is little understanding of plastic values, the modelling being implied only by shallow grooving on the surface. An extremely interesting comparison may be made between these figures and the miniatures in the Life of St. Edmund, formerly in the Holford Collection, and now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.† This MS. was written at Bury St. Edmunds between 1125–1150, but the miniatures are not by the same hand as the initials in the text, and are probably earlier, dating from about 1100. In the scene showing St. Edmund bestowing Alms on the Poor (Plate 7) the head of the saint resembles very closely the head of the Christ at Ely. Both are beardless, and there is a certain Byzantine feeling in the full oval face, with the long nose and small mouth. The eyes, however, are prominent and staring and rather barbaric. The hair of the Ely figure is in tight even curls, whereas St. Edmund's is straight; but

* Prior and Gardner, page 189.

† Reproductions issued by the Palæographical Society, First Series, Vol. 2, Plates 113–115.

in other figures in the MS., notably in those in the Burial Scene, hair is represented by tiny parallel crinkled lines, ending in an obvious curl.

The drapery, too, shows some interesting points in common. The serving-man on the left in the Almsgiving miniature has a tunic swathed at the waist, with a square neck. This neck is decorated with a band of stuff ornamented with small bosses, which runs down the front of the garment to the girdle. The same arrangement appears at Ely, where, in the figure on the right, it is clear that the decoration is on the tunic, and not on the edge of the cloak, which seems indicated in the other angel. The swathing at the waist is exactly similar. In the MS. the majority of the figures wear short tunics and tight-fitting trousers. This is not the case in the relief, as no doubt such garments would have been considered incongruous. But, as if the carver had had the painted costumes in his mind, the drapery of the angels is broken at the knees, giving the appearance of a short tunic in front, while the undergarment is drawn tightly across the legs, showing an effect strongly reminiscent of trousers. Further, in all the figures in the relief, the stretched drapery over the legs has chevron markings at regular intervals; these may, of course, represent folds, though they are curiously evenly spaced, but it is worth remarking that in the miniature of the Coronation of St. Edmund (Plate 8) both the Bishop's tunic and the King's boots have bands producing a chevron effect. In view of the misunderstanding shown by the sculptor in the amazing distortion of form seen in the arms of the angels, it seems not impossible that he should further have confused the representation of modelling with that of ornament.

The heads below the lintel are also interesting, the one on the left showing the straight hair and beard seen in various figures in the MS.

The Ely relief may with advantage be compared also with the most important of the MSS. associated with the School of St. Albans in the twelfth century, namely, the Hildesheim Psalter. It will be found that they have much in common. In many of the miniatures in the Psalter drapery over the legs is arranged in parallel slanting folds, though not

with the strongly marked chevrons which have been noted in the relief. Further, there is in the Psalter, particularly in the initial to Ps. xlviii. 2,* a curious distortion in the drawing of foreshortened arms which irresistibly recalls that of the arms of the angels in the Ely group.

Altogether the resemblances in both manuscripts would seem to be sufficiently close to warrant a definite linking up of the Ely sculpture with the great school of illumination associated with Bury St. Edmunds and St. Albans.

But in considering the doorway at Ely the interest of the figure sculpture should not be allowed to eclipse totally that of the general treatment. The arrangement of the jambs, corbelled out under the lintel, the vigorous treatment of the leaf decoration, the plentiful use of grotesques, particularly those in medallions on the outermost jambs, the leaf ornament in low relief that surrounds the arch, all these, combined with the almost unrecognizable beasts carrying the jambs, give to the whole a markedly foreign appearance which recalls both Lombard work in North Italy† and also definitely Norse doorways such as those from Sauland and Valthiofstad, casts of which are in the Victoria and Albert Museum. It is almost impossible to disentangle the motives which make up this highly interesting piece of work, but there is no doubt that the designer was more at home in decorative than in figure sculpture, for nothing could be more satisfactory than the arrangement of birds among scrolled stems on the imposts.

Ely also shows a much simpler and earlier example of the interrelation between sculpture and painting, for some of the capitals in the nave are painted, while others are carved with similar patterns.

That the art of wallpainting reached a high level in the twelfth century is evident in spite of the paucity of the remains. Those examples we have, which are extremely diverse in style, scope and attainment, are only sufficient to whet our appetites for more ! But from what we have, it is easy to realize that the best wall painters, though steeped in the ideas and methods of the illuminator, were yet able to transform his

* Adolph Goldschmidt, *Der Albanipsalter in Hildesheim*, 1895, p. 103, Fig. 28.

† Sir T. G. Jackson, *Byzantine and Romanesque Architecture*, Vol. II, p. 251.

motives into monumental designs of great dignity. The work of such a painter may be seen in St. Anselm's Chapel in Canterbury Cathedral, where the great figure of St. Paul at Melita must rank with the finest productions of the century in all Europe (Plate 10, lower subject). This powerful and very beautiful figure, which dates from the third quarter of the century, is very close in style to some of the Winchester MSS., but its greatest affinity seems to be rather with the Psalter of Henry of Blois than with the Winchester Vulgate. The flow of line is more nervous, the hands, which have the nails indicated, are better articulated, and the proportion of the pupil to the eye is more true to life than in the majority of the Bible miniatures, and these features also appear in the Psalter.

Another notable group of wallpaintings is to be found at Kempley, in Gloucestershire (Plate 5, lower subject). These are of peculiar value, as showing what was probably the ordinary decoration of a parish church, but a point of special interest may be seen in the row of seated Apostles which appears on both north and south walls. These immediately suggest a comparison with the Malmesbury sculptures, and it is fairly evident that both were inspired by a common source, though the paintings show much greater monotony.

It has been suggested* that the Kempley paintings are the work of Winchester artists. The dragged ovals of the drapery are much less pronounced than, for instance, in the Canterbury painting, which would suggest that the Kempley paintings are earlier in date. If, therefore, it is admitted that Malmesbury and Kempley, not far apart, are due to the same artistic impulse, the sculpture date of *c.* 1160 would serve roughly for the paintings.

Towards the end of the century, English art, true to its complex and receptive nature, again found inspiration in Continental models. A fresh wave of Byzantine influence, due perhaps to the Crusades, swept into England, with a result that may be seen in the miniatures of the Westminster Psalter, now in the British Museum. These show a marked reaction in favour of simple poses, better proportion and a less-mannered

* Borenius and Tristram, *English Mediæval Painting*, 1928, p. 4, and Plates 5 and 6.

treatment of drapery. But, as Miss O. E. Saunders points out,* they have lost the rhythmic pattern of earlier work, and not yet attained to a Gothic grace. She also suggests† that, owing to the resemblance of the classic type of some of the heads to those in the thirteenth-century glass at Chartres, this MS. may have been the product of a glass-painter. A further resemblance may perhaps be found in some of the thirteenth-century glass at Canterbury where, for instance, the head of Virginity on the north side of the choir is, with its curling hair and straight features, not far distant from that of the Angel of the Annunciation in the Westminster MS.

The new fashion in MS. painting spread to various centres, a notable example of the style, the Life of St. Cuthbert, now in the British Museum, being produced at Durham. This, which shows no exaggeration of attitude, is so close to the wallpaintings in the Galilee Chapel at Durham that it seems probable that both are by the same hand.

The reference to Canterbury glass recalls the somewhat controversial point of the date of the series of prophets originally in the clerestory. These are by some considered to date from *c.* 1184, and therefore to be advanced examples of twelfth-century figure drawing. Other authorities class them with the rest of the thirteenth-century glass. Mr. Mitchell, who held the former opinion, compares them‡ with some of the latest drawings in the Winchester Vulgate. These drawings, as has already been mentioned, are said by Miss O. E. Saunders§ to be somewhat akin to the early thirteenth-century wallpaintings in the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre at Winchester. It may further be noted that if a comparison be made between Prof. Tristram's beautiful drawing‖ of two of the heads from the Winchester paintings, and the heads of the prophets in the Canterbury glass, a striking resemblance of treatment may be observed, especially in the eyelids and hair. There is, however, one important difference. The line indicating the iris of the eye, which gives so great an effect of liveliness to the head of St. John

* O. E. Saunders, *English Illumination*, 1928, p. 52. † *Ibid*, p. 53.
‡ H. P. Mitchell, *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. XLIX (Oct. 1926), p. 161 note.
§ O. E. Saunders, *op. cit.*, p. 37.
‖ Borenius and Tristram, *op. cit.*, Plates 9 and 10.

at Winchester, is lacking in the Canterbury figures. The Winchester paintings show far more movement, but this would be entirely in keeping with their later date.

The various arts of the goldsmith and their interrelation, both among themselves and with the other arts, must now be considered. The question is greatly complicated, partly by lack of remains, and also by the difficulty of dating examples, with certainty, by internal evidence alone.

There can be no doubt that many highly skilled craftsmen worked in England in the Early Middle Ages, and were even called to undertake commissions abroad, for Anketil of St. Albans, who in 1129 made, with his pupil, Simon of Ely, a large silver-gilt reliquary set with gems for his own monastery, was then stated to have previously worked in Denmark.*

It is also of great importance to realize that mediæval craftsmen seldom confined themselves to one art. Miss O. E. Saunders quotes the case of Master Hugo of Bury, who not only illuminated the great Bury Bible, now at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, but who also cast bronze doors and a bell, and carved the Rood screen for St. Edmund's church.† This versatility of the craftsman naturally led to a close interdependence between the arts, and to the reproduction of the motives of one in the others, so much so that it is often difficult, and indeed dangerous, to decide that a particular motive or method belongs peculiarly to any one technique.

The work of the mediæval goldsmith's atelier may be traced in three different crafts: metalwork, ivory carving, and enamelling. Though we possess no English example dating from the twelfth century, there can be little doubt that these three crafts must frequently have been applied to one object, as they are in the Eltenberg Reliquary in the Victoria and Albert Museum, or in the very beautiful early crucifix with small cloisonné plaques, gold wire ornament, and an ivory Christ which is claimed as Saxon, in the same Museum. But though none of the splendid articles showing a combination of crafts has come down to

* E. R. D. Maclagan, *Society of Antiquaries Journal*, July 1924, p. 211.
† O. E. Saunders, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

us, we have yet examples in each of the three above-mentioned techniques which are almost indubitably English.

Dealing first with metalwork pure and simple, the outstanding example is the famous Gloucester Candlestick in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Plate 9, left-hand subject). This is now generally accepted as English work, and may be dated with certainty by the inscription as between 1104–1113. It is, however, interesting to note that Professor Lethaby* dismisses it as a product of the Hildesheim school. The Gloucester Candlestick, with its interlacing stems and grotesque beasts, certainly displays characteristics found in Romanesque art all over Europe, but the very fact that such motives are to be found in Italy, France and Germany proves that they cannot be considered peculiar to any one school, and are at least equally probable in an article made in a Benedictine workshop in England.

Two other examples of English metalwork may be classed with the Gloucester Candlestick, though they are probably from the second half of the century. Both are censer tops, one found at Canterbury, and the other in the Thames and now in the British Museum. Both are illustrated by Sir C. J. Jackson in his *History of English Plate*.† They again show the grotesque animal forms and the same boldly pierced technique.

This type of work also appears in a very fine fragment of ivory in the British Museum, the base of a flabellum, carved with lizard-like beasts and little figures (Plate 9, right-hand subject). Messrs. Prior and Gardner‡ include in this group the Alcester Tau Cross, and a comb found in Wales, both also in the British Museum collection. Mr. Dalton,§ however, considers the Alcester Tau early eleventh century, and though the comb is labelled in the British Museum as twelfth century, the incising of the lines on the large masks and the form of the interlace seem to betray a closer dependence on Norse motives

* Prof. W. R. Lethaby, *Mediæval Art*, 1912, p. 125.

† Sir Charles James Jackson, *Illustrated History of English Plate*, 1911, pp. 89 *et seq.*

‡ Prior and Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

§ O. M. Dalton, *Catalogue of Ivory Carvings of the Christian Era in the British Museum*, 1909, No. 32.

than on the general Romanesque types seen in the Gloucester Candlestick.

Two other ivories have a certain affinity to the group under discussion. One is the head of a Tau Cross in the Victoria and Albert Museum, with men and beasts in foliage scrolls (Plate 10, top subject), and the other a smaller fragment which is so similar to the Tau head that it seems almost certainly by the same hand. The latter piece was found at St. Albans and is now in the British Museum. Miss M. H. Longhurst,* who has summed up the various conflicting opinions concerning these pieces, points out the widespread use of their motive in early mediæval ornament, and the consequent difficulty in locating individual examples, "especially in so portable a material as ivory." Mr. Mitchell, who is convinced of the English origin of these pieces, compares them† to the Gloucester Candlestick, and more closely to Durham MSS. of the eleventh century, particularly on the ground of the striation of stems, which he thinks is derived from penmanship and not a natural technique in plastic art. While admitting the very close resemblance between the ivory beast and the one in the MS. reproduced by Mr. Mitchell, it might perhaps be noted that the use of striation in plastic work is not by any means confined to this country, but appears frequently, for instance, on Lombard capitals. The treatment of the drapery of the figures in these two ivories would seem to be akin to that of the St. Albans–Bury St. Edmunds group of MS. painters, whose work has already been mentioned in connection with the Prior's Door at Ely. This is, of course, an argument in favour of the surmise that the piece found at St. Albans may have been a production of the great local school. Unfortunately, though there can be little doubt of the prominence of the St. Albans school in the twelfth century as well as in the thirteenth, we have no piece from the goldsmith's workshop which we can with certainty attribute to this centre

Three croziers, found at St. David's, Pembrokeshire, provide some interesting problems. The latest, which is dated by Sir C. J. Jackson

* M. H. Longhurst, *English Ivories*, 1926, pp. 27–88, 142.
† H. P. Mitchell, *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. XLI (1922), p. 176.

about 1300,* shows so much of Gothic delicacy and grace that it would seem to have little affinity with the work of the period under discussion; but the other two, dated the third quarter of the century, deserve considerable attention. The first has fine foliage, the tightly curled leaves having deeply grooved veins. The stems are not striated, and the leaves have almost the appearance of being made of coiled wire. Sir C. J. Jackson compares them with the leaf work in the Galilee at Durham, and with some capitals at Bylands Abbey, Yorkshire, which would seem to imply a Northern origin.

The second crozier, which is extremely fine, has much thicker, heavier foliage with pearled veins. This type of leaf, also with pearled veins, appears on the head of another ivory Tau in the Victoria and Albert Museum, which Miss Longhurst considers, on the grounds of this very foliage, may be Rhenish work.† But she admits that the intimacy and the originality of the group of the Virgin and Child in the central medallion give this piece a certain English character, and indeed one is irresistibly reminded by this little group of the charm and pathos of the Chichester Roundel.

A whale-bone plaque in the Victoria and Albert Museum has a marked affinity in another art. This is the much discussed relief of the Adoration of the Magi. Many authorities class this, and another plaque in the Louvre, with the two stone reliefs now in Chichester Cathedral showing the Raising of Lazarus and Christ visiting the House of Mary, and are inclined to place the whole group at the beginning of the eleventh century. Messrs. Prior and Gardner, who are of this opinion,‡ while admitting the somewhat unique character of the group, adduce, as a reason for calling it Saxon, the form of the capital of the doorway of Mary's house. This, which has a very crude leaf decoration, is closely paralleled at Sompting in Sussex, which is indisputably a pre-Conquest building. It certainly does not seem particularly probable that a twelfth-century carver would reproduce so clumsy a detail of another school.

* Sir C. J. Jackson, *op. cit.*, p. 91. † M. H. Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pp. 28, 90, 143.
‡ Prior and Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

M. Camille Enlart takes an entirely different view of this particular detail,* for after giving general stylistic reasons in favour of a twelfth-century origin for this sculpture, he concludes: " . . . et l'architecture de la porte de la ville, qui à des chapiteaux semblable à ceux de la Chapelle de la Vierge de la Cathédrale même de Chichester, tout cela permit d'attribuer l'œuvre au XII^{ième} siècle." The Lady Chapel at Chichester is thirteenth-century work, but so learned a writer as M. Enlart would scarcely make so obvious an error, and presumably he refers to some relic of the twelfth-century building.† It may be noted that the Victoria and Albert Adoration of the Magi shows a simple variation of the cap à crochet. Mr. Eric Maclagan‡ and Miss Longhurst,§ who judge the group primarily by the ivories, are of the opinion that the whole is of the twelfth century. Miss Longhurst, after summarizing the divergent views, gives as her chief reasons for her opinion resemblances to the Life of St. Edmund, the MS. already discussed in connection with Ely, and to certain miniatures in the Psalter of Henry of Blois. This Winchester MS. dates from p. 1150, and two miniatures are considered by both Dr. Arthur Haseloff|| and by Miss O. E. Saunders¶ to be so strongly Byzantine in character that direct foreign influence is suggested. Dr. Haseloff connects them with the Bishop's journey to Rome in 1151–1152. It may here be noted that the Byzantine feeling in the Chichester stone reliefs is felt by some critics to be their most salient characteristic, but, as was stated much earlier, Byzantine influence on English art was almost constant throughout the Early Middle Ages and therefore a strong Eastern tendency in any group was just as likely to appear in the eleventh as in the twelfth century.

The resemblance that Miss Longhurst sees between the Victoria and Albert ivory and the Bury MS. must not be overlooked. In the

* Camille Enlart. See Michel, *Histoire de l'Art*, 2, 1, p. 212.

† It should perhaps be remarked that these reliefs are said to have come from the now submerged church at Selsea.

‡ E. R. D. Maclagan, *Antiquaries Journal*, July 1924, p. 211.

§ M. H. Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pp. 23, 83, 138.

|| Arthur Haseloff. See Michel, *Histoire de l'Art*, 2, 1, Chap. III, pp. 314 and 317.

¶ O. E. Saunders, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

miniature of the Coronation of St. Edmund the stooping, high-shouldered figure of the King, as well as the arrangement of the curtain and architecture, does recall the ivory; but the Bury figures have long full oval faces, not the extraordinary Mongolian cheek-bones and short chins which are so marked a characteristic of the Victoria and Albert and Louvre plaques. The points of resemblance may rather be those common to Romanesque art in general. But, on the other hand, it must be readily admitted that this curious group does not appear to have any close relationship with any known example of Saxon art, and its date and origin must therefore remain an open question.

A highly interesting fragment of ivory may be seen in the Dorchester Museum. This is the figure of a king, probably once part of an Adoration of the Magi.

Mr. Eric Maclagan* points out the striking resemblance between the style of this figure and that of those in the miniatures in the Shaftesbury Psalter.† This Psalter, which dates from about 1170 or a little earlier, was almost certainly written for, if not at, the Nuns' Abbey at Shaftesbury, not far distant from Dorchester. A very close parallel indeed may be drawn between the ivory and the solemn figure of the Almighty in the miniature in the Psalter of "God the Father despatching the Angel Gabriel to Nazareth." The oval of the face, the treatment of the small mouth with the downward curve at the centre, the beard, the crown, the hair and the hands are all closely akin, and so are the sharp narrow folds of the drapery. It is therefore not unreasonable to suppose that the ivory was either made by a local craftsman on whom a strong impression had been made by the Psalter, or that it was produced by the same school that was responsible for the manuscript. It has been suggested‡ that this is the work of an illuminator trained in the manner of, or at least greatly influenced by, the School of St. Albans. This would account for a certain resemblance, in both Psalter and ivory, to the Life of St. Edmund in the Pierpont Morgan Library, which, as

* E. R. D. Maclagan, A Twelfth-century Ivory in the Dorset County Museum. *Antiquaries Journal*, July 1924, p. 209.

† British Museum, Lansdowne MSS., 383.

‡ Arthur Haseloff, see Michel, *Histoire de l'Art*, 2, 1, Chap. III, p. 312.

has already been noted, is one of the series of manuscripts which may be connected with the St. Albans–Bury St. Edmunds group.

There can be no doubt that the influence of the great ateliers at St. Albans was very widespread in the twelfth century, and it seems fairly evident that both the Life of St. Edmund, and consequently, as has been shown, the reliefs over the Prior's Door at Ely, and also the Shaftesbury Psalter and the Dorchester ivory, found their inspiration in this common source.

Mr. Maclagan further compares this ivory to the very beautiful ivory torso of Christ in the Guildhall Museum, and to a group in the same material in the Copenhagen Museum, which he thinks may also be English. Miss Longhurst*, however, follows Dr. Goldschmidt† in thinking that the Copenhagen ivory is Danish, though probably made under English influence. In this connection it is significant to remember, as Mr. Maclagan points out, that the goldsmith Anketil of St. Albans is known to have visited Denmark before 1129, and that therefore English influence and even English craftsmanship must have played a part in the early mediæval art of that country.

Yet another ivory to which a parallel has been found in contemporary MSS. is the relief of Christ in Majesty lately acquired for the Victoria and Albert Museum. Miss M. H. L. Longhurst has recently discussed this piece in great detail,‡ and has pointed out its obvious dependence on the earlier Winchester manuscript school of which the Grimbald Gospels is a typical product. The ivory is a particularly fine example of English workmanship, and is a most valuable addition to the important collection of English ivories at South Kensington.

The direct influence of metalwork on sculpture is fortunately proved by several extant examples. This proof is of paramount importance, for it assures us of the extremely prominent part that the art of the metalworker must have played in the twelfth century.

But in attempting an analysis of the sculptor's use of the metalworker's

* M. H. Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pp. 24, 26, 85.
† Adolph Goldschmidt, *Elfenbeinskulpturen*, III, 40.
‡ *Burlington Magazine*, No. CCCIX (Dec. 1928), p. 318.

motives, the student quickly finds himself faced with a difficulty. A very large number of the productions of eleventh and twelfth-century carvers in England show Norse influence, and all Norse work, with its flat surfaces, its shallow incised lines, and its sharply cut edges, is strongly metallic in feeling, even when carried out in wood. A large amount of stone carving in England exhibits these characteristics, and therefore marks a point of contact between the arts, but the influence is distant, often so diluted that it has been misunderstood, and in any case it is a legacy of earlier times and not purely of the twelfth century. For instance, a great number of stone masks, particularly those supporting corbel tables, bear a close resemblance to the famous Sanctuary Knocker at Durham, which dates probably from before 1140.

But in addition to the great body of work which has a general metallic feeling, there are other examples in which the productions of the metalworker are definitely imitated. Both at Iffley in Oxfordshire and at Kilpeck in Herefordshire the outermost ring of a doorway is carved with an exact transcript of a metal chain (Plate 11). Within the medallions formed by the links are placed the Signs of the Zodiac, or other grotesques, in keeping with Norse tradition, which is strong in both these examples. This chain motive may also be found on the fine font at Stottesdon in Shropshire, where it is combined with interlacing stems (Plate 12, left-hand subject). It is not unprofitable to compare this example with the cast, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, of a twelfth-century Swedish font in the National Museum, Stockholm. The chain motive has not been carried out here, but extremely similar beasts appear beneath arcades, which are studded like the links of the chain, giving the impression of the chain idea, with the bottom half of the link missing. A better example could scarcely be found of the extraordinarily close connection between English and Norse work, even as late as the twelfth century.

Kilpeck is rich in reproductions of metalwork, for on the jamb of the south doorway appears a curious arrangement of figures and interlacing scrolls (Plate 12, right-hand subject). This bears no resemblance

to the treatment of the same motive in the Gloucester Candlestick, but is apparently adapted from wirework. (The same treatment may be seen on the fonts of Castle Frome and Eardisley (Plate 13, left-hand subject), and in the figure of Samson breaking the lion's jaw in the tympanum of Stretton-Sugway. In the last example the interlacing scrolls are absent.) Within Kilpeck Church are figures of Apostles which, with their angular relief, are strongly reminiscent of bronze work. The whole of the carving in this interesting little church is dated by Messrs. Prior and Gardner as before 1150.*

It is evident that an important centre of metalwork must have existed somewhere in the West or Western Midlands (apparently not to be connected with the Gloucester Candlestick), for in addition to the examples already cited its influence may further be detected at Malmesbury and Glastonbury. Among the seven rings of decoration surrounding the entrance to the porch at Malmesbury, three are treated with figure medallions welded together in imitation of goldsmith's work. A similar treatment, modified by Gothic feeling, appears at Glastonbury, dating from the last years of the century. Messrs. Prior and Gardner† make a most interesting point, for when referring to the fondness of English artists for the use of figures in medallions, surrounded usually by scrolled stems, which is so marked a feature of thirteenth-century art, they say, "medallion treatment . . . was conspicuously at first a legacy from the habits which the earlier stone sculptor had acquired in copying metal designs."

It is particularly unfortunate that the medallions of the outer ring of voussoirs of the Malmesbury porch are so sadly defaced, for iconographically they are of great interest. The subject is a Psychomachy, and though combats of Virtues and Vices are fairly common in the Early Middle Ages, it is significant to find that at least four other examples in, or connected with, the West Country, are still extant. One of these is the series of wallpaintings in Claverley Church, Shropshire. For many years these knightly figures were thought to be those of warriors taking part in the siege of Mont St. Michel by William II, but it is now

* Prior and Gardner, *op. cit.*, Figs. 29, 145, 149, 152. † *Ibid.*, p. 170.

generally agreed that they are part of a Psychomachy.* The other illustrations of the history are both to be found on fonts : at Stanton Fitzwarren in Wiltshire, and at Southrop in Gloucestershire (Plate 13, right-hand subject). Finally, it must be recalled that the splendid MS. of Prudentius, with its dramatic linear drawings, now in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, was produced at Malmesbury between 1040–1050. It therefore seems possible that the interest aroused by it was directly responsible for the other twelfth-century reproductions of Virtues and Vices in West Country art.

It may be noted that the Southrop font has rather a fine highly stylized leaf ornament within bands treated in a metallic manner with small studs. Below stand the Virtues and Vices, each in a separate arcaded niche. This arrangement of figures was common on fonts in the twelfth century, particularly on lead examples, such as those which still exist at Dorchester, Oxon, and Hereford Cathedral.

The arcade motive, as pointed out by Messrs. Prior and Gardner,† has a long, interesting, and unbroken pedigree. The question of its origins is not within the scope of this essay, but its use, in the twelfth century, by the goldsmith on reliquaries and by the sculptor on such fonts as this cannot be omitted. Though no large English *châsse* with figures of saints under arcades has come down to us there is every likelihood that such things were made, and that in these village fonts we see clumsy transcripts of their splendid design. It is only by piecing together these fragmentary reflections of one art in another that we can build up some vague picture of the work of the mediæval English craftsmen.

Examples of the goldsmith's influence on sculpture are certainly to be found outside the West Midlands, though nowhere else are they so marked. At Lincoln some of the figures and scrolls on the jambs of the West door have a smoothness and closeness which suggest ivory, while a studded ornament which is strongly metallic also appears. This doorway has, however, been much restored. At Canterbury, the beasts

* Borenius and Tristram, *op. cit.*, p. 4. (Read Claverley for Chalgrove.)

† Prior and Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

on the capitals in the crypt, though in line with the general trend of Romanesque art, have in their sharply-cut planes and grooved surfaces a technique which cannot have originated solely in the stonecutter's yard (Plate 14, lower subject).

A group which has given rise to a variety of opinions as to its date and origin is the beautiful, though sadly mutilated, relief of the Virgin and Child in York Minster. It has been compared both with sculpture in the South of France, at, for instance, Montpellier and Beaucaire, and with work that is more definitely Byzantine in feeling. Mr. Eric Maclagan,* however, who does not feel that the York relief is very close to any known foreign example, has discovered a small bronze, about $3\frac{3}{4}$ ins. high, in the Museum of the Philosophical Society at York, which in general outline and treatment, particularly in the curious sideways swing of the folds above the feet, certainly recalls the larger stone group. The resemblance is of great interest, for Mr. Maclagan states in refering to the suggested Anglo-Saxon origin of the metal group, " Whether the bronze Virgin and Child was made before or after the Battle of Hastings there would seem no reason to doubt that it was made in England." It may therefore be regarded as an unique example of the goldsmith's craft from a period about which it is extremely difficult to obtain any adequate idea, and if, as Mr. Maclagan considers, we are, owing to the undoubted resemblance, justified in thinking the stone relief also to be English work, not later than the first quarter of the twelfth century, we shall be able to enlarge greatly our opinion of the scope and capability of the workmen of this transitional period.

The reflection of another art may be traced in twelfth-century sculpture, especially at the beginning of the period, and that is the art of the seal-cutter. Small figures with a delicate, metallic technique may be seen in various tympana, a good example being at Elkstone in Gloucestershire.

The tympanum at Rowlestone in Herefordshire (Plate 14, top subject), which shows Christ in Majesty, with four angels supporting the

* E. R. D. Maclagan, A Romanesque Relief in York Minster. From the *Proceedings of the British Academy*, Vol. XI, 1923.

mandorla, though rather bolder than Elkstone, has still a great insistence on small metallic detail ; and is further interesting for its complete disregard of the demands of perspective. In this it may be compared with the Prior's Door at Ely.

But as the sculptor began to appreciate better the true requirements of his art, his dependence on other techniques naturally diminished, and his work became larger and bolder and more truly sculpturesque.

It finally remains to review the work of the enameller. It is only of recent years that serious attention has been paid to the possibility of champlevé enamel having been produced in this country. Mr. Mitchell* suggested that the great Godefroid de Claire visited England, but modern German criticism† is inclined to regard Godefroid as a somewhat legendary figure, and attributions to him must therefore be approached with great caution. But though the maker of the Stavelot Altarpiece, hitherto identified with Godefroid de Claire of Huy, probably did not come to this country as contended by Mr. Mitchell, there can be no doubt that at one time some very close connection must have existed between England and the Mosan school of enamellers. This is proved by the existence, in the British Museum, of two plaques, now wrongly set as a bowl, showing Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester and brother of King Stephen. Mr. Mitchell's suggestion that these and the Llangattock plaques now in the Victoria and Albert Museum once formed part of the Shrine of St. Swithin, ordered by Henry of Blois for his cathedral at Winchester, may still be justifiable, and in any case it is likely that this portrait of an English bishop was made in England by a foreign craftsman. This, of course, in no way establishes the existence of a native school of enamelling, but it would at least be curious if this work of a foreign artist for one of the greatest patrons in England, did not awaken in English artists a desire to emulate his work, even if his craft were hitherto unpractised.

* H. P. Mitchell, *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. XXXV (Sept. 1919), p. 92.

† H. Beenken. "Schreine und Schranken," *Jahrbuch für Kunstwisschenschaft*, 1926, Heft 2, p. 65.

But, fortunately, Mr. Mitchell* was able to prove one extant piece to be almost certainly of English origin. This is the Masters Plaque in the Victoria and Albert Museum. It shows the Last Judgment, a subject dear to English artists, and is totally unlike any known Continental example. Moreover, it does present close affinity with Winchester manuscripts, though, as Miss O. E. Saunders points out, it is curiously transitional in character. The wildly fluttering draperies, and the almost frenzied attitudes of the angels recall the earlier, Anglo-Saxon MS. style, while the stretched ovals of the drapery are obviously borrowed from the work of the later miniaturists. No known MS. exhibits these dual characteristics, but, as Miss Saunders† suggests, it is not impossible that the Masters Plaque shows an intermediate stage between the two schools; though, on the other hand, it is even more probable that it is an example of the way in which other arts lagged behind the work of the miniaturist.

Another instance of this last fact may be found in a scattered series of plaques illustrating chiefly the Lives of SS. Peter and Paul which have been discussed by Mr. Mitchell‡ and Professor Borenius and Miss M. Chamot§. These plaques have certainly a relationship with the wall-paintings in the Chapel of St. Gabriel in the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral, which Professor Tristram now dates as *c.* 1130, while, as the more recent of the two articles in the *Burlington Magazine* points out, it is probable that the Plaques should be placed towards the end of the century. These enamels, however, though their affinity with the Canterbury paintings implies a possible English origin, have not the same peculiar character as the Masters Plaque, and in drawing, colour, and general arrangement bear considerable relationship to German work

A small, but highly important group of enamels, dating from the last quarter of the century, to which an interesting parallel may be found in another art, remains to be discussed. The most famous piece in the

* H. P. Mitchell, *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. XLVII (Oct. 1925), p. 163.
† O. E. Saunders, *op. cit.*, p. 36.
‡ H. P. Mitchell, *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. XLIX (Oct. 1926), p. 161.
§ Professor T. Borenius and M. Chamot, *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. LIII (Dec. 1928), p. 276.

series is the beautiful Kennet Ciborium, the property of Lord Balfour of Burleigh, but loaned for some years to the Victoria and Albert Museum. An English origin for this piece is probable, though the reasons given by Mr. J. Starkie Gardner,* both for this and for other articles in the group, are not entirely conclusive. With it may be grouped the Warwick Ciborium in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Plate 15), and also a ciborium and cover now in New York. This was exhibited at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1897, and was then in the possession of Mr. Braikenridge. It has now passed to the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.† This, which is very similar to the Kennet Ciborium, was traditionally said to have come from Malmesbury. Both the Kennet and Warwick ciboria are decorated with figure-subjects in medallions, joined by scrolled and foliated stems.

English fondness, especially in the thirteenth century, for scrolled stems enclosing figure medallions has already been referred to on p. 5 above, but a more pertinent example remains to be noted. At Barfreston Church, near Canterbury, the tympanum shows a Christ in Majesty surrounded by an arrangement of heads and half-length angels within a delicate scrollwork of stems and leaves (Plate 16). This, which is dated *c.* 1170, bears a remarkable resemblance in feeling to the decoration of this group of enamels, and the actual form of foliage, though naturally heavier owing to the difference of material, is not far removed in style. In addition to the extreme interest of this arrangement of the tympanum it should be noted that two of the rings of the arch over the door also have medallions, joined by foliated stems. Messrs. Prior and Gardner quote the Barfreston doorway as an example of the independent development in the west and east of England of goldsmiths' motives, and continue, " This Kentish carving exhibits some usages that are to be recognized as English. The figure medallions are interlaced with a twining foliage as we have seen them at Malmesbury. It is not the motive of leaf interlacement that we suggest as English, but its peculiar

* J. Starkie Gardner, " English Enamels " in *Some Arts Minor as practised in England*, by A. H. Church and others, pp. 68 *et seq.*

* J. Starkie Gardner, *Catalogue of the B.F.A.C. Exhibition*, 1897.

† M. Chamot, *English Mediæval Enamels*, 1930, p. 6 and No. 12.

handling of sinuous twining."* This being so, it would seem an added reason for accepting the traditional ascription of the Kennet and Warwick ciboria to this country. The New York Ciborium, which is said to have come from Malmesbury, may presumably be grouped with them, and one would like to feel that as the medallions and scrolled stems do appear on the Malmesbury porch, there is a possibliity, at least, that the ciborium was also made there. It must, however, be remembered that the motive was obviously widespread in England, and that though we suspect a great metalworking centre in the West at the beginning of the century, we have no adequate reason to suppose that it was Malmesbury, and further that all three ciboria would appear to date from the extreme end of the century.

Although much may still be discovered concerning the minor arts of the twelfth century in England, it is already abundantly evident that their practice must have assumed great importance in contemporary artistic life. Valuable help was given by the older arts of the goldsmith and the illuminator to the rising techniques of the sculptor and the wall-painter. To the already complicated mixture of foreign influences were therefore added reflections from one art to another, which, tantalizing as they are, must serve as faint landmarks indicating the great wealth that has vanished.

* Prior and Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

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PLATES

inmiquitate
oradie inuſtitiam cogitabit lingua tua ſicut
nouacula acuta feciſti dolum · / loſa ·
Dilexiſti malitiam ſup benignitatē inīquitatem ·
ilexiſti omīa uerba precipitationiſ lingua do
Propterea dē deſtruet te infinem euellet te &
emigrabit te de tabernaculo & radicem tuam
de terra uiuentium · ran ſuum ·
idebunt iuſti & timebunt & ſup eum ridebuſ
& dicent eccehomo qui non poſuit dm̄ adiutō
Sed ſpauit in multitudine diuitiarum ſuarum &
preualuit in uanitate ſua rum tuorum ·
go autē ſicut oliua fructifera in domo dei · ſpaui
in miſcdia di in ēternum & in ſclm̄ ſcli ·

de tota die ·
Inſidiaſ cogitat lingua tua quaſi nouacula
acuta faciens dolum ·
Dilexiſti malum magis quam bonum mendaciū ·
Dilexiſti omnia uerba ad deuorandum lingua
dolosa ſed dē deſtruat te in ſempiternum ·
Terrebit & euellet te de tabernaculā & radica
bit te de terra uiuentium ·
Videbunt iuſti & timebunt & ſup eum ridebunt
ecce uir qui non poſuit dm̄ fortitudinem ſuam ·
ſed ſpauit in multitudine diuitiarum ſuarum ·
confortatuſ eſt in inſidiis ſuis ·
Ego autē ſicut oliua uirens in domo dei · ſpaui
in miſcdia dei · in ſeculum ſempiternum ·